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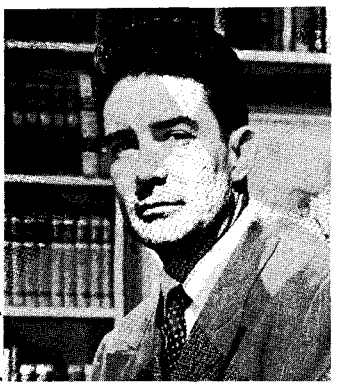

DAN SMOOT

PANAMA—PART II

Forcing United States abandonment of the Panama Canal is among the oldest of international communism's tactical objectives.

John Reed (notorious American communist who went to Russia to observe the "November Revolution" of 1917, and who now lies buried in a place of honor in Red Square by the Kremlin wall)[1] revealed that "Internationalization of the Panama Canal" was one of the slogans and battle-cries of the Red Guards in Moscow during those gruesome ten days when the murdering and pillaging bolsheviks seized power in Russia.[1]

The specifics of Soviet interest in the Panama Canal were expressed in 1956 by Marshall Rokossovsky, Soviet Commander of the Polish Armed Forces, speaking to communist leaders in Poland:

"The Panama Canal . . . has considerable advantages for the Soviet Union—which have been studied in detail by numerous Soviet vessels which took this route from the Baltic Sea to Vladivostok . . . . Moreover, the Panama Canal has an outstanding position in communications with South American states and is one of the hubs of the imperialistic policy of the United States in the Pacific and the Far East."[2]

Communists know that when they cause trouble for us in Panama, they have a grasp on our jugular vein. If they can force us to abandon the Canal (either to Panama or to an international organization) they will hurt the commerce and military defenses of the whole Western Hemisphere. It follows that Panama has always been the focal point of communist activity in Latin America. The primary cause of anti-United States feeling in Panama is communist propaganda (amplified by local politicians, because of its mob appeal) about "yankee imperialism."

The truth is that the Republic of Panama was created by, and has survived because of, our Panama Canal enterprise. The Republic of Panama was not a partner in the enterprise: she was merely the principal beneficiary.

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Central and South America were discovered and colonized before North America was; and they possess the same abundance of natural resources that makes the world envy North America. Yet, nations south of our border remained weak, poor, and unstable, while our nation grew rich and strong. Hence, baiting Uncle Sam — blaming us for conditions which result from characteristics of Latin American people and from imperfections in their institutions — has always been politically popular in unstable Latin American countries. Communists encourage the local rabble-rousers. In turn, local agitation feeds world-wide communist propaganda about American "dollar diplomacy" and "aggressive imperialism" in the Western Hemisphere. This condition has been especially prevalent in Panama because of our national presence in the Canal Zone, which bisects the Republic of Panama — and because of communists' particular interest in causing trouble for us there.

The small group of informed people in Panama know that the United States has been more than fair with their nation. They know that Panama is not capable of defending, operating, and maintaining the Canal — or even of maintaining proper sanitation facilities to make life endurable in the Zone and in the cities of Panama. They know that the people of Panama are infinitely better off because of United States ownership and operation of the Canal than they would be if the United States withdrew.[3]

For years, harassing Uncle Sam about his "behavior" in Panama was, to local politicians, nothing more than a political tactic to attract mob attention.[3] None of it — not even when fanned by communist lies and leadership and broadcast to the world by communist propagandists — did much harm to our national interest, as long as our government stood consistently, with firm dignity, on our original 1903 treaty agreement with Panama, adhering scrupulously to the terms of that treaty and requiring the Panama government to do the same.

When our government began to heed the outrageous demands of Panama politicians, sacrificing our national interests to appease not only the local politicians but communists and their camp followers throughout the world, we gave credence to the false charges about our "aggressive imperialism" in Panama. Every concession we make, in violation of the terms and spirit of the 1903 Treaty, encourages communists and Panama politicians to intensify their hate-U. S. propaganda and to enlarge their outrageous demands. The relentless campaign of hatred against us has insinuated into the minds of uneducated people in Panama (and of ignorant people in the United States and elsewhere) that the United States really is guilty of deplorable behavior in Panama. This makes it easier for local communists and politicians to create more and worse "incidents," which, in turn, result in more absurd and harmful concessions by our government.

Our surrenders and concessions in Panama have badly damaged our security interests in the Caribbean area, and have discredited the United States, making it seem a nation ashamed of its past, afraid of its future, more inclined to surrender than to stand and fight, if necessary, to defend its own.

F.D.R.—Good Neighbor

The policy of appeasement and surrender of United States national interests in Panama began in the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and has continued to the present.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union in 1933, he gave a boost to communist activity in Latin America, and throughout the world. Some of our Latin American neighbors (but not all) followed Roosevelt's lead in recognizing the lawless Kremlin gangsters as a lawful government. Communist agitators who had been operating illegally, came out in the open with their "yankee imperialism" propaganda; and many became successful politicians.

The ground swell of anti-United States propaganda which developed south of the border after our recognition of the Soviet Union was one reason for F.D.R.'s "good neighbor" policy in Latin

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America. With his great genius for making personal and political capital out of his own mistakes, F.D.R. presented his "good neighbor" policy in a way which implied that the United States had been a bad neighbor prior to Franklin D. Roosevelt. This encouraged more anti-United States activity until everyone, north and south, was ready for us to "make amends" for past behavior.

The most important consequence was a renegotiation of our treaty agreements with Panama. In the Hull-Alfaro Treaty (signed March 2, 1936, but not ratified by the U. S. Senate until July 25, 1939), the United States raised annuity payments to Panama from 250 thousand dollars to 430 thousand, to compensate for the 40% loss in purchasing power of the dollar which resulted from Roosevelt's taking us off the gold standard in 1934.[3] This concession was reasonable.

In the 1936-39 treaty, we renounced the 1903 treaty provision which made Panama a protectorate of the United States: and we renounced our right to maintain public order in Panama, outside of the Canal Zone.[3] These concessions were incongruous, because we must guarantee the political independence of Panama as long as we maintain and defend the Canal. Now we have the responsibility without clear treaty authority.

The most disastrous concessions which Roosevelt made in the Hull-Alfaro Treaty of 1936-39 were: (1) renunciation of our right of eminent domain for the acquisition of property, in Colon and Panama City, needed for canal purposes; and (2) renunciation of our right to build defense bases in Panama outside the ten-mile Canal Zone. Roosevelt's Hull-Alfaro Treaty of 1936-39 left us with the responsibility of defending the Canal Zone — not only for ourselves, but also for Panama and every other maritime nation on earth — but with no room to stand and fight.[3]

In less than two months after the Hull-Alfaro Treaty was ratified by the U. S. Senate in 1939, World War II erupted in Europe; and we were begging Panama for defense sites to protect the Canal. We had to plead, and pay heavily, for 134 base-sites which had been ours under the original treaty provisions.

Most of the land we needed for defense bases in the Republic of Panama was worthless jungle until we reclaimed it; but Panamanian politicians demanded extravagant prices — as much as $1600 an acre in annual rental fee for some of those swamps. They did not get all they asked; but they got plenty; and they caused dangerous delay, stalling negotiations for many months.[4,5]

During World War II, we paid Panama more than a million dollars for permission to build roads and landing fields, to place guns, and to erect some 400 buildings — needed for the protection (with our personnel and entirely at our expense) of Panama and the Canal Zone. We made all installations with the understanding that they would become the property of Panama — and that the United States would evacuate them — one year after ratification of a treaty of peace following World War II.

With American dollars pouring into their national treasury and into their private pockets in unprecedented quantities, and with American military power standing guard over them and their nation, Panamanian politicians kept propaganda about "yankee aggression" in crescendo during World War II. In late July, 1945, just before the war ended, Harry Truman helped bring this American-aggression-in-Panama theme to full intensity — by proposing, at the Potsdam Conference, that the United States give the Panama Canal to the United Nations.[5,6]

Postwar Period

Before the guns of World War II were silent, Panama was demanding evacuation of American bases there. We resisted — just long and loudly enough to make it look like abject surrender when we gave in. On September 2, 1946, the Pentagon suddenly announced that we were evacuating and handing back to Panama 65 of our defense sites.[4,5]

Seeing that he had big but timid Uncle Sam on the run, the President of Panama pressed his advantage: he demanded changes in the Hull-Alfaro Treaty of 1936-39 which would "revise the United

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States' whole attitude toward Panama" and provide more *benefits.*

In November, 1946, the Soviet Union's delegate to the United Nations made a vicious speech describing America's foreign bases, in Panama and elsewhere, as imperialistic aggression against weaker nations (though most of the American bases had been built to help the Soviets fight nazi Germany). As if it had been planned (and many authorities think it was), Alger Hiss (a Soviet espionage agent who held a powerful policy-making position in the State Department) sent the United Nations two reports — one characterizing the American Panama Canal Zone as "occupied territory," the other characterizing the Zone as "non-self-governing" territory. Immediately thereafter, Panama began demanding that the United States recognize Panama's "sovereignty" in the *American Canal Zone.*[4,5,6]

Now, we were in real trouble. Having abandoned most of our key defense bases in Panama, we were negotiating to extend the leases on a few that we still had and that the Pentagon claimed were necessary for defense of the Canal Zone. With Panama (enjoying, at least technically, the support of our own State Department) claiming sovereignty *within* our own zone in the Isthmus, what chance did we have to retain bases *outside* our zone?

Our futile negotiations dragged for more than a year. On December 23, 1947, the question of the leases came before the Panama Assembly. Anti-U. S. mobs surrounded the building, threatening to lynch any Assembly member who voted to extend. The Panama legislature voted *unanimously* against extending leases on U. S. defense bases outside the Canal Zone.[5] In February, 1948, we abandoned all our bases and retreated within the limits of our own Zone. Rio Hato Air Force Base, the largest on earth, was among vital military installations which we surrendered in 1948.[4] We built the base (on land previously useless) for the protection of Panama and the Canal during World War II.

Victory over mighty America whetted Panama's appetite for more. On November 17, 1952, the Panama National Assembly voted unanimously to demand a general revision of Panama-U.S. treaty relations.[5] Eisenhower had just been elected President. In 1953, the "Eisenhower team" started secret negotiations which lasted many months and resulted in the Eisenhower-Remon Treaty between the United States and Panama — signed January 25, 1955; sent to the U. S. Senate May 9, 1955; ratified July 29, 1955; proclaimed on August 26, 1955.

In the 1955 Treaty, the United States: (1) increased annuity payments to Panama from 430 thousand to 1 million, 930 thousand dollars; (2) gave Panama more than 25 million dollars' worth of real estate — including the Panama Railroad Company's yards and terminal stations in the cities of Colon and Panama; (3) promised to build a 27 million dollar bridge across the Canal.

The gift of key Panama Railroad properties to Panama was part of an Eisenhower administration plan to abandon the whole railroad. Later — in considering legislation to implement the Eisenhower-Remon Treaty — Congress (recognizing that we have treaty obligations with Colombia to operate the Panama Railroad) disapproved the scheme to abandon the Railroad, but did sanction the giveaway of yards and terminal stations.[5]

The only thing Panama gave us in the Eisenhower-Remon Treaty of 1955 was the "right to use, for a period of fifteen years without cost," the Rio Hato Air Base.

As soon as the Eisenhower-Remon Treaty of 1955 was proclaimed, Panama renewed agitation for recognition of Panama sovereignty in the American Canal Zone — and initiated a new demand: for 50% of the *gross* revenue from the Panama Canal.[5]

Since Suez

Crisis over the Suez Canal in 1956 added fuel to the fire in Panama, though there is no similarity between the sovereignty situation involved in our Panama Canal and that involved in Suez. As pointed out last week, we do not lease the Panama

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Canal Zone. We own it. No other nation has any indigenous rights or sovereignty in the Zone. As United States Representative Daniel J. Flood (Democrat, Pensylvania) says:

"The territory known as the Canal Zone is, constitutionally, a domain of the United States, acquired pursuant to law and treaty for canal purposes, and . . . its banks [borders] are parts of the coastline of the United States."[7]

The Suez Canal was constructed and operated by a private international company (originally organized in 1856 by Ferdinand de Lesseps, French engineer). The canal company operated under a 100-year lease-concession agreement, granted by the Egyptian government, which was supposed to expire in November, 1969. All assets of the Suez canal company were originally in French and Egyptian hands; but well before the end of the 19th Century, British interests (governmental and private) had acquired almost total owership. A treaty (signed in 1888 by Turkey — then the sovereign power in Egypt — by Russia, by England and by 6 other European nations) guaranteed use of the Suez Canal as an international waterway.[3]

On July 26, 1956, Nasser of Egypt seized the Suez and nationalized it. England (supported by France and Israel) invaded Egypt to protect British interests. The United States (using economic and diplomatic pressures) forced the British and their allies to withdraw. Our action guaranteed the success of Nasser's robbery but did not please Nasser, because our government recommended that the Suez Canal be internationalized — turned over to the United Nations.[5]

The Soviets supported our government's demand for internationalizing Suez, but bracketed Panama with Suez, demanding that our Panama Canal also be internationalized. Within a matter of weeks many Americans were supporting this communist line in the United States. Before spring, 1957, such people as Norman Cousins (editor of *Saturday Review*); the late Eleanor Roosevelt; United States Representative James Roosevelt (Democrat, California); United States Senator Mike Mansfield (Democrat, Montana, now Senate Majority Leader); prominent personalities in the Council on Foreign Relations and in its interlocking affiliates, such as the Americans for Democratic Action — virtually all of America's liberal extremists were urging the United States to give the Panama Canal to the UN.

Communist propaganda for giving the American Panama Canal to the UN, renewed and intensified during the Suez crisis in 1956 and supported not only by Panamanian politicians but also by leaders of America's liberal establishment, produced events which led directly to the current crisis.

On May 2, 1958, a mob of Panama "students" invaded the American Canal Zone and planted 70 Panamanian flags. U. S. authorities removed the flags and gave them to the Panamanian government, which gave them back to the "students." On May 5, 1958, the "students" marched on the presidential palace, demanding immediate Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal. Panama President de la Guardia tried to appease them by saying he would ask the United States to permit the flag of Panama to be flown in the Canal Zone. But the mobs, heavily infiltrated by trained communists, grew uglier. On May 19, 1958, when President de la Guardia ordered troops to disperse the mobs, rioting ensued.[5]

Shortly thereafter, our State Department announced that Dr. Milton Eisenhower would soon visit Panama (with a "team" consisting of officials from our major foreign-aid and foreign-loan agencies) on a "good-will" trip. Dr. Eisenhower made his visit in July, 1958. When he left, the Panama Minister of Finance made a jubilant public statement saying that Panama expected an abundance of benefits from the United States Treasury, because Dr. Eisenhower, the President's brother, had promised them.[5]

On September 13, 1958, Dr. Milton Eisenhower told the Panamanian Minister of Finance that the United States would recognize Panama's sovereignty in our Canal Zone — and that the announcement would be made by Panama Independence Day — November 3, 1959.[8] When that day arrived and no such announcement had been made (thanks to opposition in the United States Congress), a mob in Panama (led by Dr. Aquilino

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Boyd, now Panama's U.N. Ambassador) invaded the American Canal Zone to plant the Panamanian flag. Four hours of violence ensued. Mobs pulled down the American flag at the U. S. Embassy, tore it up, and hoisted the Panamanian flag. During the day, 82 persons were injured — an undisclosed number of them, American soldiers who had been pelted with rocks.[9]

The United States government protested the desecration of our flag. The Panamanian government filed a counter protest that there had been "similar acts against a Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone" —presumably the refusal by Canal Zone police to let mobs plant the Panama flag on American territory.

Before the rioting that day, officials in the United States Embassy had heard a broadcast on the Panama Police radio frequency, ordering the police to stay away from the U. S. Embassy; and no Panama police appeared during the turmoil.[10]

The United States government tried fruitlessly for more than two weeks to get an explanation: was the Panama government a silent partner in the anti-U. S. riots? Panama replied with demands that we send a high-ranking State Department official to Panama to "solve the misunderstandings." Our State Department complied. On November 15, 1959, our Ambassador in Panama ordered U. S. Embassy personnel to "curtail" the flying of the American flag in front of the Embassy. On November 17, 1959, the State Department announced that Under Secretary of State Livingston T. Merchant would go to Panama.

Next day — November 18, 1959 — Fernando Eleta (Panama's Minister of Finance) spoke to the Panama National Assembly, revealing what the principal demand would be when Under Secretary Merchant arrived: recognition of Panama sovereignty over the American Canal Zone. Senor Eleta reminded his audience of Dr. Milton Eisenhower's promise in this regard. Reading press accounts of Eleta's speech, members of the United States Congress (and the American public) learned for the first time that Dr. Eisenhower (more than a year before) had promised to recognize foreign sovereignty in our Canal Zone.

The news caused consternation in the United States. On November 20, 1959, the State Department issued a "denial." The Department was careful not to deny that Eisenhower had made such a promise, but did deny that Dr. Eisenhower had made "any statement which could be construed to commit the U. S. Government to any course of action."[8]

On November 24, 1959, however, Under Secretary of State Merchant said, in a policy statement:

"The United States recognizes that titular sovereignty over the Canal Zone remains in the Government of Panama.[3]

A State Department Press release on December 8, 1959, confirmed Under Secretary Merchant's statement that we would concede Panama's titular sovereignty in our Canal Zone, and announced the initiation of a big new program of economic aid to Panama. The State Department said that Mr. Merchant's trip to Panama had "cleared the atmosphere" for these "economic and political concessions." The Department said it had been planning the concessions "for some time," but had postponed them when the November riots occurred, because the Department did not want to "convey the impression," that the United States was "yielding to threats and demonstrations."

On February 2, 1960, the House of Representatives (by a vote of 382-12) passed a Resolution (H Con Res 459) asserting that no U. S. rights should be given away in the Canal Zone and that there must be no change "in the traditional interpretation" of existing treaties with Panama. "Traditional interpretation" of our treaty agreements with Panama hold that we have complete sovereignty in the Canal Zone — that Panama has none, titular or otherwise. The intent of this House Resolution was to tell President Eisenhower, formally, that we should not permit the flag of Panama to be flown in our Canal Zone.[12]

In an amendment to the Department of Commerce appropriation Bill, the House of Representatives on February 9, 1960, prohibited the expenditure of tax money for any flagpole to fly Panama's flag in our Canal Zone.

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Congress adjourned on September 1, 1960. On September 17, 1960, President Eisenhower (ignoring the wishes of the House and a law of Congress) ordered display of the Panama flag over the Canal Zone, as evidence of Panama's titular sovereignty.[12] On October 25, 1960, Senator John F. Kennedy wrote a letter expressing approval of President Eisenhower's action, but saying it should have been taken 18 months earlier.

On June 14, 1962, it was announced that the Kennedy administration would soon enter negotiations with Panama to resolve "differences" between the two governments about the Canal Zone.[13] On October 12, 1962, the Thatcher Ferry Bridge at Balboa (which the United States had built primarily for the benefit of Panama) was dedicated. During the ceremonies, a riot erupted, and a Panama mob desecrated the American flag.[14] On October 29, 1962, President Kennedy ordered the raising of the Panama flag at the American Canal Zone Administration Building.[14]

On January 10, 1963, the State Department announced that the United States had agreed:

(1) to permit the Panama flag to be flown with the U.S. flag anywhere in the Canal Zone;

(2) to recognize Panama's sovereign right to issue papers of authorization (exequaturs) to foreign consuls operating in the Canal Zone;

(3) to use Panamanian postage in the Canal Zone;

(4) to grant Panamanians in the Canal Zone opportunities and privileges equal to those of U. S. citizens (including U. S. Social Security benefits).[14]

On July 23, 1963, the State Department announced another agreement conferring more benefits and concessions on Panamanians employed in the Canal Zone.[15] On October 29, 1963, the Panama government announced official arrangements for Panama Independence Day parades, *inside the Canal Zone.*[16] On November 5, 1963, the City Council of Panama held an official Council meeting *on the steps of the United States District Court House in the Canal Zone.*[17]

In December, 1963, the American Canal Zone Governor (Robert J. Fleming, Jr.) ordered that the U. S. flag could no longer be flown at the U. S. Court House or at American schools in the Canal Zone. Americans were even ordered not to fly the American flag at the Gamboa War Memorial, inside the Canal Zone—a memorial to American soldiers who died in World War II.[18]

On January 7, 1964, American students raised the American flag at the American Canal Zone High School in Balboa. The principal and a Canal Zone official took the flag down. The students raised another flag, and gave the pledge of allegiance. Officials announced that the flagpole would be removed. Students kept raising the American flag each morning, taking it down at night, and keeping vigil over the flagpole (to prevent its removal) at night.[19]

On January 9, 1964, mobs of Panamanians (incited and led by communists) instigated riots which spread throughout Panama and the American Canal Zone. When the rioting ended on January 13, an immense amount of American property had been destroyed or damaged. Twenty-one persons were dead (including 4 American soldiers) and 300 persons injured.

All of the fighting in which Americans were involved occurred inside our Canal Zone where American troops were trying to protect American lives and American property from foreign mobs which had invaded American soil. Nonetheless, Panama and the Soviet Union accused the United States of "aggression," and Panama broke diplomatic relations. The Venezuelan government of Romulo Betancourt (once an admitted communist, but now the darling of our State Department and beneficiary of immense sums of American foreign aid money) expressed "fraternal adhesion to the government and people of Panama," and expressed hope that the United States would "indemnify" Panama.[20]

What To Do

All of the Eisenhower and Kennedy concessions to Panama, in violation of terms of existing treaties, were illegal, because the United States President does not have constitutional authority to make, or revise, treaties, except with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. It is obvious, moreover, that every concession made

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to Panama merely encourages Panamanian politicians and communists to make more outrageous demands.

In the Treaty of 1936 and in the Treaty of 1955, the Republic of Panama promised to cooperate in every way feasible to demonstrate the mutual understanding and cooperation of the two countries and to strengthen the bonds of understanding and friendship between their respective peoples.[3]

The Republic of Panama has blatantly and continuously violated the expressed intent of both treaties. Hence, we should declare both treaties null and void. We should return to the terms of the original Treaty of 1903, and enforce them meticulously, with the military might of our nation if necessary. Immediately upon renouncing the treaties of 1936 and 1955, because of Panamanian violations, we should put enough troops in our Canal Zone to protect all property and lives against any threat, and deploy enough naval power to protect all water approaches to the Canal. If we need any of our old bases or other installations outside the Zone, we should take them, under the right of eminent domain which the Treaty of 1903 gives us.

We should sever relations with Panama, and stop *all* aid programs and other benefits to the government and people of that nation (including water supply and sanitation facilities) until the government of Panama expresses willingness to restore normal relations and to abide by all provisions of the Treaty of 1903.

FOOTNOTES

(1) *Ten Days That Shook The World,* by John Reed, 1935, The Modern Library, "Introduction" by Granville Hicks, and p. 235

(2) *INFORM,* August 14, 1956 and May 13, 1959, 3 West Twenty-Third St., Baltimore 18, Md.

(3) *Report On United States Relations With Panama,* Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, August 31, 1960

(4) *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, Part 19,* Hearings before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U. S. Senate Judiciary Committee, April 6, 1954, pp. 1353-66

(5) *The Untold Story of Panama,* by Earl Harding, 1959, The Bookmailer, Inc., Box 101, New York, New York 10016, price $6.00

(6) "Let's Look at Our Own Canal" by Maurice Ries, *The American Legion Magazine,* March, 1957, pp. 12-3, 40-5

(7) Remarks by U. S. Rep. Daniel J. Flood (D., Penna.), *Congressional Record* (daily) July 25, 1963, p. 12645

(8) "U. S. Denies Giving Panama Pledge," by E. W. Kenworthy, *The New York Times,* November 21, 1959, p. 6; AP dispatch from Washington, *Chicago Daily Tribune,* November 21, 1959, pp. 1-2

(9) AP dispatch from Panama, *The New York Times,* November 6, 1959, pp. 1, 8

(10) "U. S. Cites Order to Panama Police," by E. W. Kenworthy, *The New York Times,* November 11, 1959, pp. 1, 16

(11) Special to the Times from Panama, *The New York Times,* November 25, 1959, p. 11

(12) *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1960,* p. 219

(13) AP dispatch from Washington, *The Dallas Times Herald,* June 14, 1962, p. A-28

(14) Remarks of U. S. Rep. Daniel J. Flood (D., Penna.), *Congressional Record* (daily) April 9, 1963, pp. 5743-53; Remarks of U. S. Rep. Clarence Cannon (D., Mo.), *Congressional Record* (daily) January 13, 1964, pp. 284-7

(15) Remarks of U. S. Rep. Daniel J. Flood (D., Penna.), *Congressional Record* (daily) September 26, 1963, pp. 17239-43

(16) *Star & Herald,* Panama City, Panama, January 1, 1964, pp. 10, 8-9

(17) *The Panama American,* Panama City, Panama, November 5, 1963, p. 1

(18) *The Panama American,* Panama City, Panama, December 31, 1963, p. 1

(19) *The Panama American,* Panama City, Panama, January 7, 1964, p. 1

(20) AP dispatch, *The Dallas Morning News,* January 11, 1964, Section 1, p. 7

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